

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 1514/1

FOR S/PRS; DEPT PASS NSC FOR MR. SCOWCROFT, WHITE HOUSE FOR

MR. NESSEN; USIA FOR IPS/PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

LUSAKA PLEASE HAVE COPIES AVAILABLE FOR EACH OF TRAVELLING PRESS ON
ARRIVAL. PER FUNSETH INSTRUCTIONS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: ABOVE ALL, I WOULD LIKE TO THANK PRESIDENT
NYERERE, FOREIGN MINISTER KADUMA, AND ALL OF THEIR COLLEAGUES FOR
THE VERY WARM HOSPITALITY THAT THEY HAVE EXTENDED TO ME. I HAVE
CONSIDERED THIS VISIT TO TANZANIA ONE OF THE KEY STOPS ON MY
JOURNEY THROUGH AFRICA.

THE GOVERNMENT OF TANZANIA IS PURSUING IN ITS INTERNAL ORGANIZA-
TIONS DIFFERENT PRINCIPLES FROM THOSE THAT GOVERN THE UNITED
STATES. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS IMPORTANT FOR PEOPLE THAT FOLLOW
DIFFERENT APPROACHES IN THEIR INTERNAL ORGANIZATION TO BE ABLE
TO CARRY OUT PARALLEL OBJECTIVES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPHERE. AND
SINCE THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO A WORLD IN WHICH EACH NATION
MUST BE ABLE TO DEVELOP ACCORDING TO ITS OWN VALUES, WE ATTACHED
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VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS STOP. WE THOUGHT THIS STOP WAS ALL

THE MORE IMPORTANT BECAUSE OF THE ENORMOUS ESTEEM THAT IS ENJOYED BY PRESIDENT NYERERE, NOT ONLY IN AFRICA BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, THE SUBJECT THAT MOST CONCERNED US WAS HOW TO MOVE SOUTHERN AFRICA TOWARDS MAJORITY RULE; AND, SECONDARILY, ISSUES OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS FOR ALL AFRICA.

I HAVE ASSURED PRESIDENT NYERERE OF THE UNITED STATES' COMMITMENT TO PURSUE AN ACTIVE POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IN SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF MAJORITY RULE, AND I EXPECT TOMORROW IN LUSAKA TO MAKE A FORMAL STATEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES POSITION WHICH WILL HAVE BENEFITTED VERY GREATLY FROM THE TALKS I HAVE HAD HERE WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE.

THE FUTURE OF AFRICA MUST, OF COURSE, BE SHAPED BY AFRICANS. THERE IS NO OUTSIDE POWER THAT CAN PRESCRIBE ITS COURSE. THE UNITED STATES HOPES THAT THE FUTURE OF AFRICA WILL BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE UNITY OF AFRICAN NATIONS AND THE UNITY OF AFRICAN MOVEMENTS. THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT MAKE ANY EFFORT TO CREATE BLOCS OF NATIONS OR PREFERENTIAL MOVEMENTS OF ITS OWN.

I WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU ALL AGAIN FOR THE WARM HOSPITALITY THAT WE HAVE ENJOYED HERE. IT MEANT A LOT TO US TO BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN ONE OF YOUR NATIONAL HOLIDAYS.

IT IS MY STRONG HOPE AND CONVICTION THAT WE HAVE MADE A NEW BEGINNING IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN TANZANIA AND THE UNITED STATES WHICH WILL CONTRIBUTE IMPORTANTLY TO A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE UNITED STATES. IT IS NOW OUR TASK TO KEEP THIS SPIRIT OF FRANKNESS AND RESPECT AND FRIENDSHIP ALIVE.

I'LL BE GLAD TO ANSWER A FEW QUESTIONS. LET THE LOCAL PEOPLE ASK FIRST:

Q: MR. SECRETARY OF STATE: TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA YOU HAVE ADVOCATED A RAPID AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. IN THE FACE OF WHAT'S GOING ON NOW IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND PARTICULARLY IN THE FACE OF THE CONTINUING INTRANSIGENCE OF THE WHITE MINORITY REGIMES IN SOUTH AFRICA HOW EXACTLY DO YOU PROPOSE TO GO ABOUT IT?

A: WE WILL AS STATED IN OUR PROGRAM, WHAT THE UNITED STATES CAN DO, AND PROPOSES SHOULD BE DONE, TOMORROW. I HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS IT IN SOME DETAIL WITH YOUR PRESIDENT. WE HOPE THAT THIS PROGRAM, TOGETHER WITH OTHER PRESSURES THAT MAY COME INTO PLAY, WILL MOVE THE SITUATION TOWARDS MAJORITY RULE IN A RAPID PERIOD

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OF TIME.

Q: THE UNITED STATES, MR. SECRETARY OF STATE, HAS ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOSTLY HIGHLY DEVELOPED NATIONS, HAS WELL ESTABLISHED AND EXPLICIT FOREIGN POLICY GOALS AND GUIDELINES FOR MOST PARTS OF THE WORLD. WHY IS IT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS FAILED TO DEVELOP AS SERIOUS A STANCE TOWARDS AFRICA AND, AS A RESULT, SEEMS TO SUPPORT THE POLICIES OF ALL OF THE COLONIAL POWERS, SUCH

AS PORTUGAL AND BRITAIN?

A: THE UNITED STATES IN THE LAST DECADE HAS HAD A HUGE AGENDA OF PROBLEMS BEFORE IT. IT HAS HAD TO DEAL WITH TH PROBELMS OF SOUTHEST ASIA, WITH THE PROBLEMS OF RECASTING ITS RELATIONSHIPS TO WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN, THE PROBELM OF OPENING TO THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND STARTING AN IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. AND IT HAS, IN THE LAST THREE YEARS, BEGUN A NEW FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARDS THE DEVELOPING NATIONS. IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE--RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY--TO MOVE IN ALL AREAS SIMULTANEOUSLY. IT IS QUITE TRUE THAT WE HAVE NOT GIVEN THE SAME PRIORITY TO AFRICA THAT WE HAVE TO THE OTHER ISSUES THAT I HAVE MENTIONED TO YOU. WHATEVER THE PAST, HOWEVER, MY TRIP HERE SYMBOLIZES THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL PURSUE AN ACTIVE POLICY IN AFRICA. PRESIDENT FORD HAS SENT ME HERE IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO REPORT TO HIM SO THAT A NEW AND MORE ACTIVE APPROACH TO AFRICA CAN BE FORMULATED. SO, BY THE THE TIME I COME BACK, I DON'T THINK YOU WILL BE ABLE TO ASK THE SAME QUESTION.

Q: A FOLLOW-UP: THE UNITED STATES' OWN POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA IS BOTH INTERESTING AND CONFOUNDING, MR. SECRETARY. AT ONE POINT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AGREES THAT FREEDOM AND JUSTICE IS INALIENABLE FOR THE OPPRESSED BLACK MAJORITY, AT THE SAME TIME THEIR ANTI-COMMUNIST STANCE IS SO GREAT THAT ANY COMMUNIST SUPPORT IS SUSCEPTIBLE (SIC) TO U.S. ALTERNATIVES (INDISTINCT). THIS, OF COURSE, IS A CONTRADICTION. NOW WHERE WOULD THE U.S. STAND IN CASE OF AN APPLICATION BY EITHER SIDE, THE SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OR THE MINORITY RACIST REGIMES, FOR U.S. ARMS AND PERSONNEL?

A: THERE ARE MANY AFRICAN COUNTIRES, INCLUDING THIS, THAT HAVE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS WITHOUT OPPOSITION FROM THE UNITED STATES. WHERE THE UNITED STATES HAS DRAWN A

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DISTINCTION IS BETWEEN SITUATIONS WHERE ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENTS, OR EVEN MOVEMENTS, WERE ACCEPTING SOME NORMAL SUPPORT FROM COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS, OR WHERE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS ATTEMPTED TO TAKE OVER THE WHOLE PROCESS AND INTRODUCE LARGE NUMBERS OF TROOPS. I KNOW THAT THERE ARE SOME WHO DO NOT AGREE WITH THIS ASSESSMENT, BUT I HAVE GIVEN YOU OUR INTERPRETATION OF EVENTS. WE BELIEVE, AS I UNDERSTAND YOUR PRESIDENT BELIEVES, THAT THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA CAN BE DEALT WITH BY AFRICANS, AND BY AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AND BY AFRICAN MOVEMENTS. THIS WE HAVE NO DIFFICULTY SUPPORTING EVEN IF THESE AFRICAN COUNTRIES ALSO ACCEPT SUPPORT FROM OTHE COUNTIRES WITH WHICH WE MAY NOT FULLY AGREE. YES, SIR.

1: THE UNITED STATES ACHIEVED ITS INDEPENDENCE BY ARMED STRUGGLE ABOUT 200 YEARS AGO. NOW CAN YOU TELL US WHY DO YOU OPPOSE THE USAGE OF ARMS IN LIBERATING ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA?

A: I HAVE STATED NO VIEW ABOUT THE APPROPRIATE METHODS. WE PREFER THAT THE SOLUTION BE FOUND THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. IF WAR HAS STARTED, AS WE HAVE BEEN TOLD, THEN IT IS CLEAR THAT, AT SOME POINT, IT WILL HAVE TO BE ENDED BY NEGOTIATIONS. WE SUPPORT MAJORITY RULE. WE WILL INDICATE SPECIFIC METHODS BY WHICH THAT CAN BE ACHIEVED IN OUR JUDGMENT, IN WHICH WE CAN PARTICIPATE.

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I'LL HAVE ONE MORE QUESTION HERE AND THEN

1. (INDISTINCT) ADVOCATE ALWAYS THE UNITED STATES POLICY OF CHAMPIONING FREEDOM OF MANKIND. BUT IN SOME CASES, YOU HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO HAVE ISSUED WHAT I WOULD LIKE TO CALL THREATS TO SOME COUNTRIES IN THEIR OWN USE OF THEIR RIGHTFUL SELF-DETERMINATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS; SAY THE COUNTRIES FOR EXAMPLE WHO VOTED IN THE U.N.

FOR COSTA RICA'S INDEPENDENCE ... PUERTO RICO ... AND YOUR DEPARTMENT ISSUED A STATEMENT CONDEMNING THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH SAID THAT THIS WAS INTERFERING WITH UNITED STATES INTERNAL AFFAIRS; AND HOW DO YOU SEE THIS QUESTION OF THE PEOPLE'S INDEPENDENCE BEING SORT OF AN INTERFERENCE IN YOUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS?

A. OUR VIEW WITH RESPECT TO DISCUSSING PUERTO RICO IN THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD BE VERY SIMILAR TO TANZANIA'S VIEW TO DISCUSSING ZANZIBAR IN THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO HAVE EXPRESSED IN A NUMBER OF REFERENDUMS OVERWHELM-

INGLY THEIR DESIRE TO HAVE THEIR PRESENT POLITICAL AFFILIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES; AND THEREFORE WE ARE TO BE SURE TAKING A VERY STRONG VIEW ON THE ISSUES CONNECTED WITH PUERTO RICO. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE RECOGNIZE THAT COUNTRIES HAVE DIFFERENT NATIONAL INTERESTS. WE DO NOT EXPECT THAT A COUNTRY LIKE TANZANIA, OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY, UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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AUTOMATICALLY SUPPORTS US IN THE UNITED NATIONS. WE ARE ADULT ENOUGH TO UNDERSTAND THAT YOU WILL PURSUE YOUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS IN YOUR OWN WAY; AND THEREFORE, IF ANOTHER COUNTRY VOTES AGAINST US IN THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE PURSUIT OF ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS, THIS IS A MATTER THAT WE CAN UNDERSTAND. IF A NATION - AND I DON'T APPLY THIS TO TANZANIA - BUT IF A NATION AUTOMATICALLY OPPOSES EVERYTHING THAT WE STAND FOR, THEN IT IS HARDER TO CONSIDER IT NON-ALIGNED, BECAUSE THEN WE WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER IT AS OPPOSED. BUT WE ACCEPT THAT NON-ALIGNED NATIONS WILL PURSUE THEIR OWN COURSE, WHICH MEANS THAT SOMETIMES THEY MAY AGREE WITH US, SOMETIMES THEY MAY DISAGREE WITH US; AND WE ARE REALISTIC ENOUGH TO DEAL WITH THIS WITHOUT A CRISIS IN OUR RELATIONSHIPS.

Q. MAYBE WE COULD ELABORATE THIS POINT. I WOULD LIKE SOME KIND OF EMPHASIS, MR. SECRETARY OF STATE. CAN YOU EXPLAIN, THEN, WHY IS THE UNITED STATES ESTABLISHMENT ALWAYS ABUSING OTHER SOVEREIGN STATES BY ISSUING ULTIMATUMS AND WARNINGS? LIKE FOR EXAMPLE IN ANGOLA YOU WARNED CUBA; AND WHAT KIND OF CREDIBILITY AND CONFIDENCE DO YOU EXPECT TO ENJOY FROM THE WEAK COUNTRIES IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES THEN?

A. TO US, THE INTRODUCTION OF 15,000 CUBAN TROOPS INTO ANGOLA, A PLACE THOUSANDS OF MILES AWAY, IS A MATTER OF MASSIVE MILITARY INTERVENTION; AND CUBA BEING A COUNTRY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, 80 MILES OFF THE COAST OF THE UNITED STATES, IT IS A MATTER THAT WE TAKE RATHER SERIOUSLY. THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED A COALITION AMONG ALL OF THE FACTIONS IN ANGOLA, AND WE WERE PREPARED TO IMPLEMENT IN ANGOLA THE PRINCIPLES WHICH I HAVE ENUNCIATED HERE, OF ALL THE GROUPS HERE WORKING TOGETHER. BUT I WANT TO REPEAT THIS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT TANZANIA AND WE HAD A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO ANGOLA. WE NOW FACE A PROBLEM FOR THE FUTURE, AND I HAD THE IMPRESSION IN MY CONVERSATIONS WITH YOUR PRESIDENT THAT THERE ARE MANY RESPECTS IN WHICH OUR POINTS OF VIEW CAN BE PARALLEL; AND I SEE NO GREAT ADVANTAGE IN GOING OVER ALL OF THE EVENTS OF THE PAST AND REHASHING ALL OF THE DISAGREEMENTS.

Q. DR. KISSINGER, EXCUSE ME, IN VIEW OF THOSE DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN TANZANIA AND THE UNITED STATES, WHICH WERE QUITE EXTENSIVE OVER ANGOLA, TO WHAT EXTENT WOULD YOU SAY THE TWO COUNTRIES NOW HAVE IN ANY

WAY OVERCOME THEIR DIFFERENCES IN VIEWPOINT ON APPROACHING THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM SPECIFICALLY?

A. I FOUND MY CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE THE MOST INSTRUCTIVE THAT I'VE HAD WITH ANY LEADER, AND I CONSIDER THE RESULTS EXTREMELY CONSTRUCTIVE.. THERE WILL STILL BE, I'M CERTAIN, UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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OCCASIONAL POINTS OF DISAGREEMENT BUT ON THE MAIN LINES OF OBJECTIVES AND THE UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT EACH PARTY CAN DO WITH ITS CAPABILITIES, I BELIEVE THAT CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE.

Q. I WOULD LIKE TO FOLLOW THAT UP, SIR. HAS ANY SPECIAL PROVISION BEEN MADE FOR FOLLOWING UP THESE DISCUSSIONS HERE BETWEEN YOU AND PRESIDENT NYERERE?

A. WE WILL STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH EACH OTHER AND THERE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE FOLLOW-UP.

Q. (INDISTINCT) THE FACT OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE LIBERATION WAR IS STARTED IN ZIMBABWE. NOW IN THE FACE OF THIS, DON'T YOU FIND YOUR VIEWS OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA RATHER ARCHAIC?

Q. I BELIEVE THAT, AT SOME POINT, THERE WILL HAVE TO BE A NEGOTIATION; IT IS, AFTER ALL, THE PURPOSE OF EVERY WAR TO BE ENDED BY

NEGOTIATION. I'M STATING THE OBJECTIVES THAT SHOULD BE REALIZED AND THE PURPOSES THAT NEGOTIATIONS, WHEN THEY OCCUR, SHOULD SERVE.

Q. SIR, PRESIDENT NYERERE SAID THAT, UNLESS THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO APPLY THE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS VOTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND END U.S. TRADE IN CHROME WITH RHODESIA, THAT THE AMERICAN POLICY WILL NOT HAVE MUCH CREDIBILITY. IS THE UNITED STATES NOW PREPARED TO TAKE SUCH AN ACTION?

A. I WILL ADDRESS THIS QUESTION TOMORROW, AND I HAD A FULL TALK WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE ABOUT IT. HIS VIEWS WILL BE TAKEN MOST SERIOUSLY.

Q. YOUR COUNTRY HAS BEEN ...TIME AND AGAIN YOUR COUNTRY HAS COME UNDER STRONG ATTACK FROM A NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES LATELY ANGOLA THAT YOU WORK TOWARDS THE SABOTAGING OF THE ECONOMIES.

Q. (THE SECRETARY) THE ECONOMY OF ANGOLA

Q. YES, ONE OF THE THREE MAJOR AREAS OF YOUR CONCERN IS THAT AFRICA ATTAIN PROSPERITY FOR ITS PEOPLE AND BECOME A STRONG PARTICIPANT IN THE ECONOMIC ORDER. HOW DO YOU RECONCILE THIS OBVIOUS CONTRADICTION?

A. I THINK THAT YOU REALIZE THAT I CANNOT ANSWER EVERY CHANGE THAT IS MADE IN EVERY AFRICAN NEWSPAPER IN THE COURSE OF A WEEK. WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE MPLA IN ANGOLA AS AN AFRICAN INSTITUTION OR AS AN AFRICAN MOVEMENT. FRELIMO, WITH WHICH YOU ARE VERY FAMILIAR, AND WHOSE PHILOSOPHY, I THINK IT IS SAFE TO SAY, IS NOT FULLY IDENTICAL WITH THAT OF THE UNITED STATES, NEVERTHELESS FOUND NO SIGNIFICANT -- FOUND NO OPPOSITION FROM THE UNITED

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STATES. WE RECOGNIZED FRELIMO AS SOON AS IT CAME INTO POWER, AND ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS VERY RAPIDLY; AND WE ARE GRADUALLY IMPROVING OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH MOZAMBIQUE. WE HAVE NO NATIONAL DIFFERENCES WITH ANGOLA AND WE HAVE NO INTEREST IN SABOTAGING THE ECONOMY OF ANGOLA AT ALL. ON THE CONTRARY, AT THE 7TH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WE PUT FORWARD A

PROGRAM FOR DEVELOPMENT WHICH APPLIES TO ALL OF AFRICA INCLUDING
ANGOLA. AND I'M RETURNING ACROSS THE CONTINENT FROM SENEGAL NEXT
WEEK TO DELIVER A SPEECH IN NAIROBI AT A MEETING, WHICH IS NOT
ATTENDED BY ANY OTHER FOREIGN MINISTER, SIMPLY TO EMPHASIZE THE
POLITICAL INTERESTS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS IN DEVELOPMENT.
THE PROPOSALS THAT I SHALL MAKE THERE WILL EXCLUDE NO AFRICAN
C

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